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Message Text

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ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 AF-04 EUR-08 ISO-00 SS-07 AID-01 NSC-06 /030 W
---------- 097893
R 091610Z JUL 76
FM AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4802
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY LILONGWE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
AMEMBASSY MBABANE
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY PORT LOUIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MAPUTO 0785

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, OVIP (SOLARZ, STEPHEN) MZ RH
SUBJECT: CODEL SOLARZ: MEETING BETWEEN CONGRESSMAN SOLARZ AND
ZANU LEADER EDWARD MUGABE

1. SUMMARY: AFTERNOON OF JULY 7, CONGRESSMAN SOLARZ HELD ONE HOUR AND HALF CONVERSATION WITH ROBERT MUGABE, ZANU SECRETARY GENERAL. MUGABE
---ACKNOWLEDGED THAT SERIOUS DIVISIONS EXIST WITHIN ZIMBABWE LIBERATION MOVEMENT;
---DENOUNCED PRESIDENT MACHEL'S IDEA THAT ZIMBWABEAN GUERILLA CONFLICT SHOULD TAKE THE FORM OF A "PROTRACTED STRUGGEL";
---EXPLAINED THAT "THIRD FORCE" IS REALLY A ZANU FORCE CONTROLLED BY HIMSELF AND ZANU CENTRAL COMMITTEE;
---DISMISSED IDEA THAT ZANU AND (THIRD FORCE) WOULD EVER INVITE FOREIGN TROOPS TO ASSIST IN LIBERATION OF ZIMBABWE;
--STATED THAT AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBWABWE UNDER ZANU CONTROL WOULD BE GOVERNED MORE LIKE TANZANIA AND ZAMBIA THAN MOZAMBIQUE;
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AND

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---SAID UK NO LONGER HAD USEFUL OR MEANINGFUL ROLE TO PLAY
IN RESOLUTION OF RHODESIAN PROBLEM.
MUGABE ALSO CRITICIZED SECRETARY KISSINGER'S APRIL 27
LUSAKA SPEECH, BUT SAID HE WLECOMED OPPORTUNITY TO EXCHANGE VIEWS
WITH USG OFFICIALS ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN SITUATION. END SUMMARY.

2. CONGRESSMEN SOLARZ, ACCOMPANIED BY DCM CARSON, TRAVELLED
TO QUELIMANE, 800 MILES NORTH OF MAPUTO, JULY 7 TO MEET WITH
ROBERT MUGABE, ZANU SECRETARY GENERAL AND SELF-DESCRIBED LEADER OF
ZANU AND THE THIRD FORCE, AND EDGAR TEKERE, ZANU CENTRAL
COMMITTEE MEMBER. CONGRESSMAN SOLARZ OPENED MEETING BY SAYING
THAT CHANGES OF PROFOUND SIGNIFICANCE WERE TAKING PLACE IN
SOUTHERN AFRICA, THAT VERY FEW MEMBER OF CONGRESS UNDERSTOOD
WHAT WAS HAPPENING, AND THAT HE HOPED BY MEETING WITH
ZIMBABWE LIBERATION GROUP LEADERS TO GAIN A BETTER APPRECIATION
OF THE PROBLEMS IN THE AREA. CONGRESSMAN SOLARZ ASKED MUGABE
A SERIES OF QUESTIONS ABOUT ZANU, THE THIRD FORCE AND CURRENT
STATUS OF ZIMBABWEAN LIBERATION STRUTGLE. FOLLOWING ARE
MUGABE'S RESPONSES.

3. DURATION OF THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE. WHEN ASKED HOW
LONG IT WOULD TAKE TO BRING SMITH REGIME DOWN, MUGABE SAID
HE COULD NOT PREDICT. THE COLLAPSE OF THE SMITH REGIME WILL
"DEPEND ON THE SITUATION AND AMOUNT OF PRESSURE" (BOTH MILITARY
AND POLITICAL) BROUGHT TO BEAR ON IT. MUGABE DISAGREED WITH
PRESIDENT SAMORA MACHEL'S ANALYSIS THAT THE ZIMBABWEAN
GUERILLA CONFLICT SHOULD TAKE THE FORM OF A "PROTRACTED
STRUGGEL". ACCORDING MUGABE, A STRUGGLE DOES NOT BECOME
PROTRACTED BY DESIGN. ALTHOUGH ZANU IS PREPARED TO FIGHT
INDEFINITELY, WE WOULD LIKE INDEPENDENCE ACHIEVED IN THE
SHORTEST PERIOD OF TIME. WE CANNOT OPT FOR A LONG TERM
SOLUTION. THIS HAS TOO MANY DISADVANTAGES. FIRST, IT
DELAYS INDEPENDENCE AND SECONDLY, IT INCREASES THE
HARDSHIPS. ZANU IS NOT INTERESTED IN UNNECESSARY BLOODLETTING,
BUT ZANU IS NOT AFRAID TO FIGHT. WE ARE PREPARED TO GO
THE FULL DISTANCE, TEN YEARS OR TWENTY YEARS. IF "GOOD
BROTHER VORSTER AND OTHER FORCES COME IN, OUR STRUGGLE
COULD TAKE LONGER.

4. DIVISION WITHIN ZIMBABWEAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT. MUGABE
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ACKNOWLEDGED "THAT THE NATIONALIST MBVEMENT IS NOT ONE.
HOWEVER, THIS IS NOT A NEW FEATURE." IN 1974 AT TIME MUGABE,
SITHOLE, NKOMO, TEKERE, ZVOBGO AND OTHERS WERE RELEASED FROM
DETENTION IN SALISBURGY, MUGABE SAID THERE WERE THREE POLITICAL
GROUPS: ZANU, ZAPU, AND ANC. ZANU AND ZAPU WERE IN
EXILE AND THE ANC WAS THE "HOME BASED UMBRELLA FOR BOTH GROUPS"--
ALTHOUGH IT SOON DEVELOPED A SEPARATE RAISON D'ETRE UNDER
BISHOP MUZOREWEA. TODAY, THESE THREE GROUPS STILL RETAIN A

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SEPARATE IDENTITY, ALTHOUGH THE FOUR FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS HAVE
TRIED TO GET THEM TO SWALLOW THEIR DIFFERENCES. MUGABE SAID
THAT THE RELEASE OF DETAINEEES WAS ENGINEERED BY KAUNDA, FOLLOWING
SEVERAL MEETINGS HE (KAUNDA) HAD WITH SMITH AND VORSTER.
WHEN THE ZAPU AND ZANU LEADERS WERE FLOWN TO LUSAKA, KAUNDA
"THREATENED WITH EXTINCTION". ZANU AND ZAPU IF THEY DID NOT
UNITE AND NEGOTIATE WITH SMITH. WITH THIS ULTIMATUM THEY
HAD NO OPTION BUT TO UNITE. HOWEVER, FROM THE BEGINNING
ZANU RECOGNIZED THAT TALKING WITH SMITH WOULD BE FRUITLESS AND
DECIDED TO PRESENT A PUBLIC FACE OF UNITY WHILE AT THE SAME
TIME ORGANIZING ITSELF FOR THE GUERILLA STRUGGLE. DURING THE
INITIAL MONTHS OF THEIR RELEASE THE ZANU LEADERS (MUGABE,
ZVOBGO, TEKERE SITHOLE, AND OTHERS) REACTIVATED GUERRILLA
RECRUITING CELLS IN RHODESIA AND SOLICITED EXTERNAL
POLITICAL AND MILITARY SUPPORT FOR THEIR STRUGGLE. BE-
CAUSE OF SMITH'S STUBBORNESS AND ZANU'S UNWILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT
ANTHING SHORT OF MAJORITY RULE, THEY KNEW THE TALKS WOULD
FAIL, AND THEY EVENTUALLY DID.

5. ZANU AND THE THIRD FORCE. MUGABE SAID THAT THE FOUR
FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS HAD ASKED ZANU AND ZAPU LEADERS
DURING THE EARLY WEEKS AFTER THEIR RELEASE TO COMBINE THEIR
MILITARY AS WELL AS THEIR POLITICAL EFFORTS, THREATENING
NOT TO ASSIST THEM IN THEIR GUERILLA STRUGGLE IF THEY REFUSED.
ZANU RELUCTANTLY AGREED TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A UNIFIED
ZIMBABWE LIBERATION ARMY, WITH A HIGH COMMAND COMPOSED
EQUALLY OF ZANU AND ZAPU REPRESENTATIVES. THIS WAS THE
ORIGIN OF THE THIRD FORCE. THE ZAPU CADRES, NUMBERING LESS THAN
200, TURNED OUT TO BE COMPLETELY WORTHLESS. THEY REFUSED TO
FIGHT WHILE THEIR CHIEF, NKOMO, CONTINUED TO NEGOTIATE WITH
SMITH. MOST OF THEM EVENTUALLY LEFT THE CAMPS. MUGABE DENIED
THEY WERE CHASED AWAY, ALTHOUGH HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THERE WAS
FRICTION BETWEEN THE ZANU AND ZAPU CADRES IN THE CAMPS. MUGABE
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CLAIMED THAT TODAY THE THIRD FORCE HIGH COMMAND WAS COMPOSED
ENTIRELY OF ZANU MILITARY LEADERS WHO WERE LOYAL TO HIM. ALTHOUGH HE
WAS NOT LIVING IN THE MILITARY CAMPS OR DIRECTING THE DAY TO DAY
MILITARY OPERATIONS, HE MET WITH THE HIGH COMMAND LEADERS
REGULARLY TO DISCUSS OVERALL STRATEGY.

6. MILITARY CAMPS AND NUMBER OF ZANU FREEDOM FIGHTERS.
MUGABE SAID THE ZANU HAD APPROXIMATELY 20,000 "YOUNGSTERS
OVER SEVENTEEN" TRAINED OR UNDERGOING TRAINING IN MOZAMBIQUE
AND OTHER PLACES. THERE WERE A LESSER NUMBER (UNSPECIFIED)
OF GUERILLAS OPERATING INSIDE RHODESIA. ALTHOUGH SOME ZANU
CADRES WERE SENT INTO ACTION AFTER A FEW MONTHS TRAINING.
MOST RECEIVED AT LEAST SIX MONTHS TRAINING. THERESWERE FOUR
MAIN CAMPS AND NUMBEROUS TRANSIT CAMPS IN MOZAMBIQUE. ONE
OF THE LARGE CAMPS, LOCATED IN TETE PROVINCE, WAS A JOINT

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ZANU-FRELIMO CAMP. WHEN CONGRESSMAN SOLARZ ASKED IF HE
MIGHT VISIT ONE OF THESE CAMPS, MUGAGE SAID IT WOULD NOT
BE POSSIBLE FOR SECURITY REASONS. ZANU DID NOT WANT TO
TAKE PEOPLE TO SEE THEM. IN ADDITION, BECAUSE THE CAMPS
WERE IN MOZAMBIQUE, ZANU HAD TO ABIDE BY MOZAMBIQUE'S
REGULATIONS, ONE OF WHICH STATED THAT NO ONE WOULD BE ALLOWED
TO VISIT THE CAMPS WITHOUT GPRM APPROVAL.

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INFO OCT-01 AF-04 EUR-08 ISO-00 SS-07 AID-01 NSC-06 /030 W
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R 091610Z JUL 76
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AMEMBASSY PORT LOUIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MAPUTO 0785

7. FOREIGN TROOPS. BOTH MUGABE AND TEKERE SAID THAT ZANU
WAS STRONGLY OPPOSED TO THE INTRODUCTION AND USE OF FOREIGN TROOPS
IN THE ZIMBABWEAN STRUGGLE. TEKERE SAID, "WE ARE OUR OWN
LIBERATORS, IF WE CANNOT LIBERATE OURSELVES, WE DON'T
DESERVE TO BE LIBERATED. THIS APPLIES TO MOZAMBIQUE AS WELL
WE DO NOT WANT THEIR SOLDIERS." MUGABE AGREED AND
SAID THAT THE ZIMBABWEANS MUST FIGHT AND WIN THEIR
OWN STRUGGLE WITHOUT ANY OUTSIDE MANPOWER. WHEN
ASKED WHO WAS PROVIDING ZANU AND THIRD FORCE WITH ARMS,
MUGABE SAID THEY WERE NOT RECEIVING ARMS DIRECTLY FROM
ANY COUNTRY AND THAT ALL WAR MATERIALS WERE BEING ROUTED
THROUGHT THE OAU'S LIBERATION COMMITTEE. "WE PREFER IT THAT WAY."

8. WHITE MINORITY RIGHTS. WHEN ASKED IF ZANU WOULD PROVIDE

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GUARANTEES FOR RHODESIAN WHITES. MUGABE RESPONDED THAT
THIS IS A VERY "QUEER QUESTION". WHY SHOULD THEY HAVE
SPECIAL RIGHTS? OURS IS NOT A RACIAL STRUGGLE, ALTHOUGHT IT
IS FREQUENTTY PAINTED AS
ONE. WE ARE NOT GOING TO ENTRENCH
PRIVILEGES FOR ANYONE, THIS IS NOT WHAT WE ARE STUGGLING FOR.
IN AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE THEY WOULD BE TREATED JUST LIKE ANY
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OTHER CITIZEN. THEY WILL HAVE TO TAKE THEIR POSITION IN THE QUEUE
WITH THE REST OF US.

9. WHITE FLIGHT AND COMPENSATION. ALTHOUGH THE DEPARTURE
OF LARGE NUMBERS OF WHITES WOULD CAUSE SOME ECONOMIC
DISRUPTIONS, MUGABE SAID ZANU WILL NOT APPEAL FOR THEM
TO STAY, NOR WILL IT CHASE THEM AWAY. MUGABE SAID HE
DID NOT OBJECT IN PRINCIPLE TO COMPENSATIONS BEING GIVEN TO
WHITES WHO LEAVE. IF THE BRITISH WISH TO PAY COMPENSATION,
THAT IS THEIR BUSINSS. HOWEVER, HE SAID THE ISSUE OF COM-
PENSATION IS COMPLEX. FOR EXAMPLE, NO COMPENSATION
SHOULD BE GIVEN FOR LAND, ONLY FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF
THE LAND. HE SAID THAT SOMZ OF THOSE WHO STAYED MIGHT
HAVE TO BE TRIED FOR "CRIMINAL OFFENSES" FOR THE ILLEGAL
HANGING OF POLITICAL PRISONERS. WHEN QUESTIONED FURTHER
ON THIS HE INSISTED THAT ANYONE ARRESTED WOULD BE GIVEN A
FAIR TRIAL. "WE DON'T INTEND TO ABOLISH
STATUES AS FRELIMO HAS DONE. WE WILL FOLLOW ENGLISH COMMON
LAW."

10 ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL POLICIES OF AN INDPENDENT ZIMBABWE.
MUGABE SAID ZANU WOULD RUN THE COUNTRY IN ACCORDANCE WITH ITS OWN
POLICIES. "ZANU WILL NOT RUN ZIMBABWE THE WAY FRELIMO
RUNS MOZAMBIQUE. MOZAMBIQUE IS A MILITARY STATE AND WE
DO NOT WANT MILITARY RULE. WE WANT A CIVIIAL GOVERNMENT,
DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED, AND SIMILAR TO WHAT TANZANIA HAS TODAY."
AS FAR AS ECONOMIC POLICY WAS CONCERNED, ZANU WOULD
NATIONALIZE ALL "ESSENTIAL INDUSTRIES": RAILROADS, COAL,
ELECTRICITY, IRON AND STEEL AND HYDROELECTRICITY. "WE WILL
NOT NATIONALIZE EVERYTHING" AS THEY HAVE DONE IN TANZANIA."
BECAUSE AGRICULTURE IS SO IMPORTANT, AND SO MANY ZIMBABWEANS
PARTICIPATE IN THIS SECTOR, MUGABWE SAID THE GOVERNMENT
WOULD ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH "TRUE COOPERATIVES" AND TO ALLOW
THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR TO OPERATE LIKE IT DOES IN ZAMBIA.
ALTHOUGH MUGABE EXPRESSED ADMIRATION FOR
TANZANIA'S UJAMAA VILLAGES, HE SAID THEY HAD PROBLEMS.
AS FOR FOREIGN POLICY, ZIMBABWE WOULD TAKE ITS PLACE AMONG
THE NON-ALIGNED STATES.

11. UK ROLE IN CURRENT RHODESIAN SITUATION: MUGABE SAID
THAT ALTHOUGH BRITAIN ONCE HAD A MAJOR ROLE TO PLAY, ITS

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ROLE HAS COME TO AN END. IF THE UK GOVERNMENT HAD ACTED
IN RHODESIA IN 1965 AS IT DID LATER IN ANTIGUA WITH THE
USE OF A LITTLE FORCE, THERE WOULD BE NO LIBERATION STRUGGLE
GOING ON TODAY. THE UK WOULD BE ALLOWED TO PARTICIPATE IN
THE FINAL TURNOVER OF POWER TO A BLACK GOVERNMENT, BUT THAT
WOULD BE IT.

12. US POLICY TOWARD RHODESIA. MUGABE SAID HE DID NOT THINK
MUCH OF SECRETARY KISSINGER'S LUSAKA SPEECH. THE IDEA OF A TWO-
YEAR TRANSITION AS ADVOCATED BY THE BRITISH "IS NOT ACCEPTABLE
TO US". IN ADDITION, ZANU HAS NOT FORGOTTEN THAT THE USG
CAST ITS FIRST EVER VETO IN THE UNSC IN 1969 AGAINST
THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE. AND ALTHOUGH ZANU
DID NOT PUT MUCH STOCK IN SANCTIONS, IT WAS AWARE THAT THE US
HAS CONSISTENTLY VIOLATED UN AUTHORITY BY IMPORTING RHODESIA. CHROME.
WHEN CONGRESSMAN SOLARZ ASKED HOW US MIGHT IMPROVE ITS POSITION
ON RHODESIA, MUGABE SAID THE US MUST STOP TRADING WITH
RHODESIA, REPEAL THE BYRD AMENDMENT, AND KEEP OUT OF OUR
"QUARRELS", ON THE LAST POINT, MUGABE SAID HE HAD HEARD THAT
SECRETARY KISSINGER HAD ADVISED SMITH TO NEGOTIATE
WITH NKOMO BECAUSE HE IS "A REASONABLE MAN AND
BECAUSE HE IS BEST HE (SMITH) WOULD GET." STATEMENTS
LIKE THIS, HE SAID, MAKE IT APPEAR THAT SECRETARY KISSINGER
IS BACKING NKOMO AND TAKING SIDES IN AN ISSUE WHICH SHOULD
BE HANDLED BY THE ZIMBABWEANS.

13. FUTURE OF SOUTHERN AFRICAN ZIMBABWEAN RELATIONS.
CONGRESSMAN SOLARZ ASKED WHETHER A FREE ZIMBABWE WOULD
OPEN ITS TERRITORY UP TO SOUTH AFRICA INSURGENTS AFTER
INDEPENDENCE. MUGABE SAID ZANU WILL NOT ACT
UNILATERALLY AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA, BUT WILL WORK WITH
OTHER AFRICAN STATES AND THE OAU. AN ARMED STRUGGLE MAY
NOT BE NECESSARY IN BRINGING ABUT CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA.
THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA WILL HAVE TO DETERMINE THE
FORM OF THEIR STRUGGLE. WE HAVE COMMITTED OURSELVES TO
ARMED STRUGGLE BECAUSE OF THE WAY OUR SITUATION EVOLVED. THEIR
STUTATION MAY BE DIFFERENT AND MAY NOT REQUIRE AN ARMED STRUGGLE.

14. CONGRESSMAN SOLARZ CLOSED THE CONVERSATION BY SAYING
HE WOULD BE GOINR TO SALISBURG THE NEXT DAY AND ASKING
WHAT HE SHOULD SAY TO SMITH IF THEY SHOULD MEET.
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MUGABE, BREAKING INTO A SMILE, SAID "SHOOT HIM".

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15. COMMENT. SEVERAL IMPORTANT CONCLUSION CAN BE DRAWN FROM
MUGABE'S STATEMENTS TO CONGRESSMAN SOLARZC A) ALTHOUGH
HE IS CONFIDENT OF VICTORY, HE DOES NOT EXPECT THE SMITH
REGIME TO COLLAPSE IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE. HE RECOGNIZES
THAT SMITH HAS A GREAT DEAL MORE STAYING POWER AND FIGHT LEFT IN
HIM. B) HE IS NOT INTERESTED IN MAKING CONCESSIONS TO STOP
THE BLOODSHED. ZANU WANTS IMMEDIATE MAJORITY RULE, WITH
THE SHORTEST POSSIBLE TRANSITION PERIOD, PERHAPS THREE TO SIX
MONTHS. C) WHILZ THE STRUGGLE MAY TAKE A NUMBER OF YEARS, MUGABE
SEES NO VALUE IN MACHEL'S IDEA OF A "PROTRACTED STRUGGEL". HE
SAID AS MUCH ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS. NOR DOES HE CARE FOR THE
WAY MOZAMDIQUE IS GOVERNED D) MUGABE SAID THAT AN INDEPENDENT
ZIMBABWE WOULD BE MODELLED AFTER TANZANIA AND ZAMBIA. ZIMBABWE
SHOULD BE A DEMOCRATIC STATE (LIKE TANZANIA) WITH A MIXED
ECONOMY (LIKE ZAMBIA). E) ZANU IS NOT ENAMORED OF PAST US POLICIES,
WANTS THE USG TO STAY OUR OF ZIMBADWEAN LEBERATION POLITICS
(I.E. NOT TAKE SIDES WITH NKOMO, SITHOLE, MUZOREWA OR MUGABE),
BE IS WILLING TO TALK WITH USG OFFICIALS.

16 A KEY QUESTION IS WHETHER MUGABE IS, AS HE CLAIMS DE FACTO
LEADER OF THE THIRD FORCE AND ZANU. AS FAR AS THIS EMBASSY IS
AWARE, HE IS THE FIRST MAJOR ZIMBABWEAN LEADERS TO SAY THAT HE IS.
IN VERY UNEQUIVOCAL LANGUAGE, HE SAID ZANU IS THE THIRD FORCE
AND THAT THE FICTION OF AN INDEPENDENT UNITED THIRD FORCE IS
MAINTAINED ONLY TO PLACATE THE FOUR FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS.
TO DETERMINE THE VALIDITY OF THIS STATEMENT WE WILL HAVE TO
WAIT FOR OTHER CONFIRMING EVIDENCE. (IT IS INTERESTING TO NOTE
THAT HUGO IDOYAGA, LOCAL UNHCR REPRESENTATIVE IN A RECENT TRIP
TO ZIMBABWEAN REFUGEE CAMPS WAS TOLD BY FRELIMO LEADERS THAT
MUGABE WAS A MEMBER OF THIRD FORCE MILITARY HIGH COMMAND.)

17. TEN YEARS OF DETENTION HAVE NOT DULLED MUGABE. HE IS AN
IMPRESSIVE, ARTICQLATE AND EXTREMELY CONFIDENT INDIVIDUAL. HIS
PHILOSOPHICAL APPROACH TO PROBLEMS AND HIS WELL REASONED ARGUMENTS
REMIND ONE OF JULIUS NYERERE, A MAN MUGABE OBVIOUSLY ADMIRES
AND RESPECTS. WHETHER MUGABE IS OR IS NOT THE LEADER OF THE
HIRD FORCE, HE IS NOT DOING MUCH EXTERNAL TRAVELLING, STAYING
CLOSE TO THE FIGHTERS AND BUILDING HIS BGIDGES FOR THE
FUTURE. THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT HE WILL HAVE TO BE RECKONED
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WITH IN ZIMBABWE'S POST-INDEPENDENCE LEADERSHIP SWEEPSTAKES.

18. THIS TELEGRAM WAS PREPARED FROM THE DCM'S NOTES AND WAS NOT
CLEARED WITH CONGRESSMAN SOLARZ BEFORE HE DEPARTED.
DE PREE

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